

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 061507
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JOINT STATE/USIA MESSAGE

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SUBJECT: CSCE: BACKGROUND ON RESULTS OF BELGRADE MEETING

SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE TRANSMITS BACKGROUND GUIDANCE ON
THE RESULTS OF THE BELGRADE CSCE MEETING FOR USE BY POSTS
IN DISCUSSING THE SUBJECT WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS AND FOR
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PURPOSES. POINTS STRESSED IN THE PAPER
INCLUDE: A) THE BELGRADE MEETING WAS A SUCCESS DESPITE
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 061507

SOVIET REFUSAL TO ACCEPT A SUBSTANTIVE FINAL DOCUMENT;
B) AGREEMENT ON A FINAL DOCUMENT WHICH DID NOT CONTAIN AN
HONEST ASSESSMENT OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION WOULD NOT HAVE
HELPED THE CSCE PROCESS; C) THE US AND THE WEST WORKED
DILLIGENTLY TO ACHIEVE A SUBSTANTIVE FINAL DOCUMENT;
D) CSCE IS A LONG TERM PROCESS AND THE UNITED STATES IS
DEDICATED TO WORKING FOR ITS SUCCESS. END SUMMARY.

1. THE BELGRADE REVIEW MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE HAS CONCLUDED WITH

ISSUANCE OF A FINAL DOCUMENT AND AGREEMENT TO HOLD A FURTHER MEETING IN MADRID IN THE FALL OF 1980. THE BELGRADE FINAL DOCUMENT DOES NOT PROVIDE A FULL DESCRIPTION EITHER OF THE BELGRADE MEETING OR OF EXPERIENCE WITH IMPLEMENTATION DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS. THIS RESULT IS DUE PRIMARILY TO RESISTANCE BY THE SOVIET UNION TO LANGUAGE WHICH DESCRIBED DIFFERENCES OF OPINION, ESPECIALLY ON THE IMPORTANT SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

2. THE LACK OF FULLY SATISFACTORY FINAL DOCUMENT DOES NOT, HOWEVER, DETRACT FROM THE POSITIVE RESULT OF THE BELGRADE MEETING. THE MAIN PURPOSE OF THE BELGRADE MEETING WAS TO CONDUCT A "THROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" ON EXPERIENCE WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT ESPECIALLY HUMAN RIGHTS. WE TALKED ABOUT SPECIFIC COUNTRY PERFORMANCE AND SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS CASES. THIS EXCHANGE WAS CONDUCTED, DESPITE FREQUENT OBJECTIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND SEVERAL OF ITS ALLIES. AMONG THE MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE BELGRADE MEETING ARE:

A. CONFIRMATION IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE PRIMACY OF COMMITMENTS IN THE FINAL ACT AND REAFFIRMATION BY ALL PARTICIPANTS OF THEIR RESOLVE TO IMPLEMENT ALL PROVISIONS
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 061507

OF THE FINAL ACT. THE FINAL DOCUMENT ALSO CONFIRMS THE IMPORTANCE OF FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT TO THE PROCESS OF DETENTE.

B. DEMONSTRATION THAT HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN ISSUES ARE A LEGITIMATE MATTER OF INQUIRY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF CSCE.

C. DEMONSTRATION OF THE UNITY OF NON-WARSAW PACT PARTICIPANTS, NATO AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED, IN DEMANDING A FULL REVIEW OF HUMANITARIAN AS WELL AS OTHER ISSUES COVERED IN THE FINAL ACT. CLOSE COOPERATION AMONG NATO COUNTRIES DEVELOPED FURTHER AND THE EC-9 CONTINUED TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN FORMULATION OF WESTERN POSITIONS. SOLIDARITY WAS MAINTAINED ON ESSENTIAL ISSUES WITHOUT LEAVING THE IMPRESSION THAT THE NATO STATES WERE PRESENTING A MONOLITHIC FACE

D. FOCUSSED ATTENTION ON THE NEED FOR FULLER IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL SECTIONS OF THE FINAL ACT. ATTENTION GENERATED BY THE PROSPECT OF A REVIEW AT BELGRADE HELPED STIMULATE IMPLEMENTATION DURING THE TWO YEARS PRECEDING THE MEETING. THE SAME PRESSURE WILL BUILD AS MADRID APPROACHES

E. DEMONSTRATION OF THE COMMITMENT OF ALL SIGNATORIES TO CONTINUATION OF THE CSCE PROCESS, DESPITE THE DIFFERENCES OVER INTERPRETATION OF THE FINAL ACT.

F. CONTINUATION OF THE MULTILATERAL MEETINGS PROVIDED FOR IN THE CSCE PROCESS WITH AGREEMENT TO HOLD ANOTHER

REVIEW CONFERENCE IN MADRID AND TO CONVENE EXPERT'S GROUPS ON SPECIFIC SUBJECTS.

3. SOME BELIEVE THE BELGRADE MEETING COULD HAVE BEEN MORE SATISFYING IF A COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL DOCUMENT HAD BEEN AGREED. IDEALLY, THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN TRUE
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 061507

AND THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES WORKED HARD THROUGHOUT THE CONFERENCE TO ACHIEVE SUCH AN END.

4. HOWEVER, ADDITIONAL COMMITMENTS WERE NOT AS IMPORTANT AS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE ALREADY UNDERTAKEN AT HELSINKI. AND AGREEMENT ON A FINAL DOCUMENT WHICH DID NOT PRESENT AN HONEST STATEMENT OF WHAT HAPPENED IN BELGRADE WOULD HAVE BEEN WORSE THAN THE SHORT DOCUMENT WHICH WAS AGREED.

5. SUCH A RESULT WOULD HAVE GIVEN THE IMPRESSION THAT THE US AND THE WEST WERE SATISFIED WITH SOVIET AND WARSAW PACT COMPLIANCE AND THAT THE TOUGH EXCHANGES DURING THE REVIEW PHASE HAD NOT BEEN MEANT SERIOUSLY. THIS WOULD NOT HAVE PROVIDED A CONCRETE IMPETUS TO DETENTE AND WOULD NOT HAVE ENHANCED THE PUBLIC CREDIBILITY OF THE CSCE PROCESS.

6. SOVIET REFUSAL TO ACCEPT A SUBSTANTIVE FINAL DOCUMENT AT BELGRADE REFLECTS THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE WEST ON HOW THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD PROCEED. THE SOVIETS ARGUED THAT DIFFICIENCIES IN IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD NOT BE RAISED FORMALLY AT BELGRADE, BUT SHOULD BE RESERVED FOR PRIVATE CONTACTS. THEY CLAIMED THAT TO PROVIDE A REAL IMPETUS TO DETENTE AND TO THE CSCE PROCESS, THE DELEGATES SHOULD STRESS ONLY THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

7. THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES BELIEVED THAT TO BE CREDIBLE, THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION MUST DISCUSS THE NEGATIVE AS WELL AS THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF IMPLEMENTATION. OUR GOAL WAS NOT TO STIMULATE CONFRONTATION OR TO SCORE PROPAGANDA POINTS. WE WERE CONVINCED THAT DETENTE
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 061507

AND CSCE IN PARTICULAR WOULD BE STRENGTHENED BY FULL AND OPEN DISCUSSION OF IMPLEMENTATION.

8. MORE IMPORTANTLY, IN VIEW OF THE GREAT INTEREST

FOCUSED ON EASTERN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, ESPECIALLY IN THE IMPORTANT AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE CREDIBILITY OF CSCE AND DETENTE IN GENERAL COULD HAVE

BEEN DAMAGED IF WE HAD IGNORED THESE PROBLEMS AT THE BELGRADE MEETING.

9. THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES PURSUED A FRANK REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION IN A SPIRIT OF SEEKING TO ENLARGE THE POSSIBILITIES FOR COOPERATION AMONG ALL THE 35 STATES REPRESENTED AT BELGRADE. ALTHOUGH WE DID NOT WISH TO ACCEPT CHANGES IN THE FINAL ACT ITSELF, WE SUPPORTED AGREEMENT ON A LIMITED NUMBER OF PRACTICAL NEW PROPOSALS WHICH COULD EXPAND THE POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPLEMENTATION. WE PUT FORWARD SEVERAL IDEAS OF THIS SORT, INCLUDING:

A. RECOGNITION THAT INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS HAVE THE RIGHT TO ASSIST GOVERNMENTS IN THE TASK OF FULL IMPLEMENTATION, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO RAISE CASES OF NON-IMPLEMENTATION.

B. A PROPOSAL CALLING UPON ALL SIGNATORIES TO IMPROVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE (PRINCIPLE VII), ESPECIALLY IN TERMS OF THE OBLIGATION OF CSCE SIGNATORY-STATES TO RESPECT THE RIGHT OF INDIVIDUALS TO KNOW AND ACT UPON HIS OR HER HUMAN RIGHTS.

C. STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES (CBMS) INCLUDING PROVISIONS FOR NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER MANEUVERS AND NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 061507

D. SEVERAL PROPOSALS IN BASKET II TO IMPROVE OPPORTUNITIES FOR BUSINESS CONTACTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

E. SEVERAL PROPOSALS TO FACILITATE CONTACTS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS, INCLUDING REDUCTION OF REQUIREMENTS THAT A MINIMUM AMOUNT OF WESTERN CURRENCY BE EXCHANGED ON TRIPS TO EASTERN COUNTRIES; REDUCTION OF FEES FOR TRAVEL DOCUMENTS AND SPEEDING UP PROCESSING OF EXIT APPLICATION.

F. SEVERAL PROPOSALS TO FACILITATE THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION INCLUDING RULES COVERING EXPULSION OF JOURNALISTS; PROPOSAL ON MAKING MORE REFERENCE MATERIAL AVAILABLE TO JOURNALISTS AND A PROPOSAL ON ACCESS TO ARCHIVES.

10. THE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED PARTICIPANTS ALSO PUT FORWARD A NUMBER OF USEFUL IDEAS, SEVERAL OF WHICH THE UNITED STATES WAS READY TO ACCEPT. HOWEVER, THE

SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES RESPONDED WITH A NUMBER OF

GLOBAL PROPOSALS NOT AIMED AT CONCRETE IMPLEMENTATION WHICH COULD IN FACT HAVE CHANGED THE FINAL ACT. AMONG THESE WERE PROPOSALS ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES WHICH CLEARLY WENT BEYOND THE SCOPE OF THE FINAL ACT AND SEVERAL IDEAS OBVIOUSLY DESIGNED TO LIMIT THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD BY THE WEST.

11. WHEN DELEGATES BEGAN TO DRAFT THE FINAL DOCUMENT, THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES REFUSED TO GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO REFERENCES EITHER TO AN HONEST DESCRIPTION OF THE EXPERIENCE WITH IMPLEMENTATION; THE RESULTS OF THE REVIEW PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE; OR UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 061507

TO THE NEED TO IMPROVE IMPLEMENTATION IN SUCH AREAS AS HUMAN RIGHTS.

12. THE US AND ITS ALLIES SUPPORTED SEVERAL EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE COMPROMISES BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN POSITIONS, INCLUDING THE EXTREMELY HELPFUL EFFORTS OF THE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED PARTICIPANTS. IN EACH CASE, THE SOVIETS WERE UNWILLING TO CONSIDER ANY LANGUAGE WHICH INCLUDED REFERENCE TO PROBLEMS WITH IMPLEMENTATION OR TO THE REVIEW PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE. THE FACT THAT A SUBSTANTIVE FINAL DOCUMENT WAS NOT ACHIEVED WAS CLEARLY DUE TO SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE RATHER THAN TO LACK OF READINESS TO COMPROMISE BY THE WESTERN SIDE.

13. DESPITE THE DIFFERENCES WHICH EMERGED IN BELGRADE, THE CSCE PROCESS WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP AS AN IMPORTANT MEANS OF ACHIEVING PRACTICAL PROGRESS THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS AMONG ALL SIGNATORIES.

A. CSCE INVOLVES THIRTY-FIVE STATES OPERATING ON THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS AND SOVEREIGN EQUALITY.

B. IT PROVIDES AN INVALUABLE OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS, LARGE OR SMALL, TO PARTICIPATE IN DECISIONS WHICH AFFECT THE FUTURE OF THE WESTERN WORLD.

C. IT ALSO PROVIDES A UNIQUE FRAMEWORK FOR PURSUING SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS WHICH AFFECT THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS AS WELL AS RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. THE CSCE PROCESS THUS OFFERS A BASIS FROM WHICH TO PURSUE PRESIDENT CARTER'S EFFORTS TO DEVELOP DETENTE WITH A HUMANITARIAN FACE.

14. THE UNITED STATES REMAINS COMMITTED TO SEEKING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT AND TO DEVELOPMENT OF

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PAGE 08 STATE 061507

THE CSCE PROCESS. WE WILL PARTICIPATE FULLY IN CSCE ACTIVITIES AND LOOK FORWARD TO THE NEXT REVIEW CONFERENCE IN MADRID IN 1980. WE RECOGNIZE THAT CSCE IS A LONG-TERM PROCESS AND THAT THE PRACTICES OF MANY DECADES CANNOT BE CHANGED IN A FEW YEARS. WE ARE THEREFORE ALL THE MORE DETERMINED TO WORK PATIENTLY FOR AS LONG AS MAY BE REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE HELSINKI'S STATED GOALS.

15. IN THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO THE MADRID MEETING, WE WILL WORK CLOSELY WITH OTHER SIGNATORIES IN BOTH EAST AND WEST TO SEEK MEANS OF IMPROVING IMPLEMENTATION. WE WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO EXAMINE OUR OWN POLICIES TO MAKE SURE THAT THEY ARE IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE GOALS OF THE CSCE.

16. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT THE CSCE IS NOT THE ONLY ELEMENT OF DETENTE. THE IMPORTANT ISSUES OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ARE DEALT WITH IN OTHER FORUMS. THE PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE OF THE CSCE IS IN THE RECOGNITION IT ACCORDS TO THE HUMAN DIMENSION OF DETENTE. THE BELGRADE MEETING HAS UNDERSCORED THIS POINT.

17. EMBASSIES REQUESTED TO INFORM CONSULS OF ABOVE GUIDANCE AS APPROPRIATE.

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